

- . 4 -

My heart grows sick with hate, becomes as lead,
 For my race, my race, outcast upon the earth.
 Then from the dark depths of my soul I cry
 To the avenging angel to consume
 The white man's world of wonders utterly:
 Let it be swallowed up in earth's vast womb,
 Or upward roll as sacrificial smoke
 To liberate my people from its yoke!"

Another quotation of Subject's taken from the December 1921 issue of the "Liberator" is given. It is one of four sonnets written by him and published in that issue.

"AMERICA"

Although she feeds me bread of bitterness,
 And sinks into my throat her tiger's tooth,
 Stealing my breath of life, I will confess
 I love this cultured hell that tests my youth!
 Her vigor flows like tides into my blood,
 Giving me strength erect against her hate.
 Her bigness sweeps my being like a flood.
 Yet as a rebel fronts a king in state,
 I stand within her walls with not a shred
 Of terror, malice nor even a word of jeer.
 Darkly I gaze into the days ahead
 To see her might and granite wonders there,
 Beneath the touch of Time's unerring hand,
 Like ancient treasures buried in the sand."

In January 1922 he appeared before a Board of Special Inquiry at Ellis Island, New York, as a witness in behalf of Edgar T. Whitehead, a British Communist.

In March 1922, he is reported as being a member of the new Board of Directors of the Liberator Pub-

- 5 -

lishing Company.

In the September 1922 edition of the "International Youth", organ of the Young Communist International - English edition - appears a verse by Subject as follows:

"Oh, kinsman! We must meet the common foe;
Though far outnumbered, let us still be brave,
And for their thousand blows deal one deathblow!
What though before us lies the open grave?
Like men, we'll face the murderous, cowardly pack
Pressed to the wall, dying, but - fighting back."

At this time Subject was apparently in England. He proceeded from England to Russia, where he attended the 4th Congress of the Third International. The following is quoted from the Moscow "Izvestia", No. 261, issue of November 18, 1922.

"Interview with Comrade Claude Mackay.

Comrade Mackay is a negro educated in America. At the present time he is in Russia where he is assisting in studying the negro question. Comrade Mackay is a journalist and poet, his speciality is agriculture. He was graduated from an Agricultural Academy.

In comparison with what Mackay tells us of the situation of the "colored" citizens of the "freest of all Republics" the situation of the Jews under the Tzarist regime and even now in Rumania would seem hardly worth attention.

The unequal rights of the "colored" are manifested everywhere and in everything. In a university no white student will tolerate the presence next to him of a negro student; negro children are not admitted to the school for white people; the teachers of the negro child-

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ren are deprived of all pleasures of public life and have heroically to submit to ostracism.

The education of negroes depends entirely upon the activities of so-called "white philanthropists" mainly from the North and of their bureau in Cincinnati, which was established after the liberation of the negroes. This bureau prepares white teachers for the negroes who in turn educate teachers from among the negroes. A capitalist by name of Julius Rosenwald opened 600 schools in the South and is going to open 400 more. It is interesting to point out that the same Rosenwald is the founder of the magazine "Urban League Bulletin". This magazine costs 15 cents but is given to the negroes free of charge. Its object is to agitate among the negroes and prepare detachments of "strike breakers" from the dark masses of negro workmen. Naturally these gentlemanly Rosenwalds win the sympathies of negroes who, being thankful, help out very often when a strike breaks out. In such cases they are under the protection of the American police, whereas the latter prefers not to mix in when a lynching of a negro takes place."

A report or an address made by him at the Fourth Congress of the Third International is quoted from the January 5, 1923 edition of the "International Press Correspondence" as follows:

Comrade McKay: Comrades, I feel that I would rather face a lynching stake in civilized America than try to make a speech before the most intellectual and critical audience in the world. I belong to a race of creators but my public speaking has been so bad that I have been told by my own people that I should never try to make speeches, but stick to writing and laughing. However, when I heard the Negro question was going to be

- 7. -

brought up on the floor of the Congress, I felt that it would be an eternal shame if I did not say something on behalf of the members of my race. [Especially would I be a disgrace to the American Negroes because, since I published a notorious poem in 1919, I have been pushed forward as one of the spokesmen of Negro radicalism in America to the detriment of my poetical temperament.] I feel that my race is honored, not because it is different from the white race and the yellow race, but is especially a race of toilers, hewers of wood and drawers of water that belongs to the most oppressed, exploited, and suppressed section of the working class of the world. The Third International stands for the emancipation of all the workers of the world regardless of race or color, and this stand of the Third International is not made merely on paper like the Fifteenth Amendment of the Constitution of the United States of America. It is a real thing.

The Negro race in the economic life of the world today, occupies a very peculiar position. In every country where the Whites and Blacks must work together the capitalists have set the one against the other. It would seem at the present day that the International bourgeoisie would use the Negro race as their trump card in their fight against the world revolution. Great Britain has her Negro regiments in the colonies and she has demonstrated what she can do with her Negro soldiers by the use that she made of them during the late war. The revolution in England is very far away because of the highly organized exploitation of the subject peoples of the British Empire. In Europe we find that France has a Negro army of over 300,000, and that to carry out their policy of imperial domination in Europe the French are going to use their Negro minions.

In America we have the same situation. The Northern bourgeoisie knows how well the Negro

soldiers fought for their own emancipation, although illiterate and untrained, during the Civil war. They also remember how well the Negro soldiers fought in the Spanish-American war under Theodore Roosevelt. They know that in the last war over 400,000 Negroes who were mobilized gave a very good account of themselves, and that, besides fighting for the capitalists, they also put up a very good fight for themselves on returning to America when they fought the white mobs in Chicago, St. Louis and Washington.

But more than the fact that the American capitalists are using Negro soldiers in their fight against the interests of labor is the fact that the American capitalists are setting out to mobilize the entire black race of America for the purpose of fighting organized labor. The situation in America today is terrible and fraught with grave dangers. It is much uglier and more terrible than was the condition of the peasants and Jews of Russia under the Tzar. It is so ugly and terrible that very few people in America are willing to face it. [The reformist bourgeoisie have been carrying on the battle against discrimination and racial prejudice among the socialists and communists of America. They are not willing to face the Negro question. In associating with the comrades of America I have found demonstrations of prejudice on the various occasions when the White and Black comrades had to get together: and this is the greatest difficulty that the Communists of America have got to overcome - the fact that they first have got to emancipate themselves from the ideas they entertain towards the negroes before they can be able to reach the Negroes with any kind of radical propaganda. However, regarding the Negroes themselves, I feel that as the subject races of other nations have come to Moscow to learn how to fight against their exploiters, the Negroes, will also come to Moscow. In 1918 when the Third International published its Manifesto and included that part referring to the exploited colonies, there were

several groups of Negro radicals in America that sent this propaganda out among their people. When in 1920 the American government started to investigate and to suppress radical propaganda among the Negroes, the small radical Negro groups in America retaliated by publishing the fact that the socialists stood for the emancipation of the Negroes, and that reformist America would do nothing for them. Then, I think, for the first time in American history, the American Negroes found that Karl Marx had been interested in their emancipation and had fought valiantly for it. I shall just read this extract that was taken from Karl Marx's writing at the time of the Civil War:

"When an oligarchy of 300,000 slaveholders for the first time in the annals of the world, dared to inscribe "Slavery" on the banner of armed revolt, on the very spot where hardly a century ago the idea of one great democratic republic had first sprung up, whence the first declaration of the Rights of Man was issued, and the first impulse given to the European revolution of the Eighteenth century, when on that spot the counter-revolution cynically proclaimed property in man to be "the corner stone of the new edifice" - then the working class of Europe understood at once that the slaveholders' rebellion was to sound the tocsin for a general holy war of property against labor, and that hopes of the future, even its past conquests were at stake in that tremendous conflict on the other side of the Atlantic."

Karl Marx who drafted the above resolution is generally known as the father of Scientific Socialism and also of the epoch-making volume, popularly known as the Socialist bible "Capital". During the civil war he was correspondent of the New York Tribune. In company with Richard Cobden, Charles Bradlaugh the Atheist, and John Bright, he toured England making speeches and so roused up the sentiment of the workers of that country against the Confederacy that

Lord Palmerston, Prime Minister, who was about to recognize the South, had to desist.

As Marx fought against chattel slavery in 1861, so are present day socialists, his intellectual descendants, fighting against wage slavery.

If the Workers Party in America were really a Workers Party that included the Negroes it would, for instance, in the South, have to be illegal, and I would inform the American Comrades that there is a branch of the Workers Party in the South, in Richmond, Virginia, that is illegal, - illegal because it includes colored members. There we have a very small group of white and colored comrades working together, and the fact that they have laws in Virginia and most of the Southern States discriminating against whites and blacks assembling together means that the Workers Party in the South must be illegal. To get round these laws of Virginia, the comrades have to meet separately, according to color, and about once a month they assemble behind closed doors..

This is just an indication of the work that will have to be done in the South. The work among the negroes of the South will have to be carried on by some legal propaganda organized in the North, because we find at the present time in America that the situation in the Southern States (where nine million out of ten million of the negro population live), is that even the liberal bourgeoisie and the petty bourgeoisie among the negroes cannot get their own papers of a reformist propaganda type into the South on account of the laws that there discriminate against them.

The fact is that it is really only in the Southern States that there is any real suppression of opinion. No suppression of opinion exists in the Northern States in the way it exists in the South. In the Northern States special laws are made for special oc-

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casions - as those against communists and socialists during the war - but in the South we find laws that have existed for 55 years, under which the negroes cannot meet to talk about their grievances. The white people who are interested in their cause cannot go and speak to them. If we send white comrades into the South they are generally ordered out by the Southern oligarchy and if they do not leave they are generally whipped, tarred and feathered; and if we send black comrades into the South they won't be able to get out again - they will be lynched and burned at the stake.

I hope as a symbol that the negroes of the world will not be used by the international bourgeoisie in the final conflicts against the World Revolution, that as a challenge to the international bourgeoisie, who have really got an understanding on the negro question, we shall soon see a few negro soldiers in the finest, bravest, and cleanest fight forces in the world - the Red Army and Navy of Russia - fighting not only for their own emancipation, but also for the emancipation of the working class of the whole world."

This address is quoted in the Abridged Report of Meetings held at Petrograd and Moscow, November 7th, to December 3rd, 1922, at the 4th Congress of the Third International, under the heading THE NEGRO QUESTION, speakers being listed as Comrades Billing and Mackay. The presence of McKay at the 4th Congress of the Third International was reported by the American Minister at Riga, to the State Department

Charles
in Red Army
E. McKay

the latter Department forwarding to this Bureau
a paraphrase of cable message relative to same
as follows:

"There are now in Moscow certain negroes from the United States who are taking part in the Congress of the Third International. They are Sayesh, Johnston, Claude MacKay and J. Billings. These men reached Moscow by way of Siberia. [MacKay will stay there as chief of the negro section.] The others expect to go back to the United States by the Siberian route. About December 10, they expect to leave Moscow. It is probably that those going back to the United States will attempt to ship on vessels at Shanghai. The head of the delegation is Billings, who is an ardent Communist. He is an advocator of the policy that the negroes and communists in the United States should take joint action. Billings introduced a resolution into the Congress which was adopted on November 25, declaring that in 1923 there is to be held in Moscow a World Congress of negroes. The resolution also calls for the adoption of propaganda of an energetic character to invite negroes in the United States to adopt the views of the Third International."

The above would indicate that it was McKay's intention to remain in Russia. A further communication was received from the State Department, quoting a despatch from Riga, dated December 7th, 1922, which reads as follows:

"The Fourth Congress of the Third International has given special attention to the negro question, having established a special committee for the organization of joint action of the American Communists and negroes against the American bourgeoisie."

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The following American negroes are not participating in the Congress: J. Billings, Claude McKay, Sayesh and Johnston. They arrived in Moscow via Siberia.

Following a statement made by Billings at the session of November 25th, the Congress resolved to render the utmost assistance to the negro movement, to call a World Negro Congress in Moscow in 1923 and to begin an energetic propaganda among the negroes in America in order to attract them to Communist organizations.

The Negro Commission, which included the above-mentioned negroes and certain American and Russian communists resolved to organize, for the purpose of demonstrating the sympathies of the Russian proletariat for the negro race, special negro detachments in the Red Army and to begin an energetic recruiting campaign in the United States to enlist negroes for this purpose.

The chief of the negro delegation from the United States is Billings. His assistant is McKay.

Billings, Sayesh and Johnston will return to the United States via Chita and Shanghai. They expect to leave Moscow between December 8 and 12. McKay will remain in Russia as President of the Negro Section of the Executive Committee of the Third International.

The following is quoted from an issue of the "International Press Correspondence", apparently a reprint of the translation of an article by Trotzky, published in the Moscow "IZvestis" of February 15, 1923.

"OUR PROBLEMS

Trotsky on the Negro Question.
A letter from comrade Trotzky to Comrade McKay.

The poet McKay, who represented the revolutionary negroes at the IV. World Congress of the Communist International, requested comrade Trotsky to answer a few questions regarding the struggle for emancipation among the negro race. Comrade Trotsky replies to some of these questions in the letter which we publish below.

Dear Comrade McKay.

1. What practical steps are to be taken to prevent France from employing black troops on the European continent? - this is your first question.

The blacks themselves must offer resistance against being so employed. Their eyes must be opened, so that they realize that when they help French Imperialism to subjugate Europe, they are helping to subjugate themselves, in that they are supporting the domination of French capital in the African and other colonies.

The working class of Europe and particularly of France and Germany, must realize that their own most vital interests are involved in this work of enlightening the colored race. The day of general resolutions on the right of self-determination of the colonial peoples on the equality of all human beings regardless of color, is over. The time has come for direct and practical action. Every 10 negroes who gather around the flag of revolution, - and unite to form a group for practical work among the negroes, are worth a hundred times more than dozens of the resolutions establishing principles, so generously passed by the Second International. A Communist Party confining itself to mere platonic resolutions in this matter, without exerting its utmost energies towards winning the largest possible number of enlightened negroes for its ideas, within the shortest possible time, would not be worthy of the name of Communist Party.

2. There is no doubt whatever that the use of colored troops for imperialist war, and at the present time for the occupation of German

territory, is a well thought out and carefully executed attempt of European capital, especially of French and English capital, to raise armed forces outside of Europe, so that Capitalism may have mobilized, armed, and disciplined African or Asiatic troops at its disposal, against the revolutionary masses of Europe. In this way the question of the use of colonial reserves for imperialist armies is closely related to the question of European revolution, that is, to the fate of the European working class.

3. There is no doubt whatever that the employment of the economically and culturally backward colonial masses for the world conflicts of imperialism, and still more in the class conflicts of Europe, is an exceedingly risky experiment, from the standpoint of the bourgeoisie itself. The negroes, and indeed the natives of all the colonies, retain their conservatism and mental rigidity only in so far as they continue to live under their accustomed economic conditions. But when the hand of capital, or even sooner, the hand of militarism, tears them mechanically from their customary environment, and forces them to stake their lives for the sake of new and complicated questions and conflicts (conflicts between the bourgeoisie of different nations, conflicts between the classes of one and the same nation), then their spiritual conservatism gives way abruptly, and revolutionary ideas find rapid access to a consciousness thrown off its balance.

4. Therefore it is of the utmost importance, today, immediately, to have a number of enlightened, young, self-sacrificing negroes, however small their number, filled with enthusiasm for the raising of the material and moral level of the great mass of negroes, and at the same time mentally capable of grasping the identity of interests and destiny of the negro masses, with those of the masses of the whole world, and in the first place with the destiny of the European working class.

The education of black propagandists is an

exceedingly urgent and important revolutionary task at the present juncture.

5. In North America the matter is further complicated by the abominable obtuseness and caste presumption of the privileged upper strata of the working class itself, who refuse to recognize fellow-workers and fighting comrades in the negroes. Gompers' policy is founded on the exploitation of such despicable prejudices, and is at the present time the most effective guarantee for the successful subjugation of white and colored workers alike. The fight against this policy must be taken up from different sides, and conducted on various lines. One of the most important branches of this conflict consists in enlightening the proletarian consciousness by awakening the feeling of human dignity, and of revolutionary protest, amongst the black slaves of American capital. As stated above, this work can only be carried out by self-sacrificing and politically educated revolutionary negroes.

Needless to say, the work is not ^{to} be carried on in a spirit of negro chauvinism, which would then merely form a counterpart of white chauvinism, - but in a spirit of solidarity of all exploited without consideration of color.

What forms of organization are most suitable for the movement among the American negroes, it is difficult for me to say, as I am insufficiently informed regarding the concrete conditions and possibilities. But the forms of organization will be found, as soon as there is sufficient will to action.

With Communist greetings,

(signed) L. Trotsky"

In an article published in the "Worker" for February 3, 1923, Subject is reported as having been present at a banquet of 675 delegates to the 7th or 8th International Congress which had been going on

almost simultaneously in Moscow with that of the Communist International. The banquet was apparently in honor of Kamenev, and other Soviet dignitaries.

In the "Liberator", issue of August 1923, appears a poem by Subject entitled "May Day - 1923" the closing stanza of which reads as follows:

"Jerusalem is fading from men's mind,
And Christmas from its universal thrall
Shall free the changing spirit of mankind:
The First of May the holy day for all!
And Petrograd, the proud, triumphant, city,
The gateway to the new awakening East -
Where warrior-workers wrestled without pity -
Against the powers of magnate, monarch, priest!
Would Fort of Struggle! each day's a First of May
To learn of thee to strive for Labor's Day."

A report from New York under date of October 27, 1923, refers to the receipt of a letter presumably by Miss Grace Campbell, Secretary of the African Blood Brotherhood, from Subject, to the effect that the Communist Party of Russia has much faith in the colored people of America, and that they should organize and show some spirit, and form Communist groups. Subject further stated that he expected to be in France in a few weeks, and never expected to return to the United States, but would keep in touch with his friends here, and would be glad to assist in any movement that might arise.

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There is attached hereto a photostat copy of a photograph of Subject together with Katayama, Japanese Communist, William Haywood, noted I.W.W. propagandist and Rose Pastor Stokes, well known Communist agitator. Subject is the individual standing in the center of the group with his hand resting on the chair of Rose Pastor Stokes.



January 29, 1924.

JHB/LMR

Brennan,

Park Row Building,

New York, N.Y.

Wire whether Claude Mackay in United States. If not in the country at present time wire when he was last here and anything concerning present whereabouts. Two.

BURNS.

61-3497

Department of Justice.

TELEGRAM RECEIVED.

New York, N.Y.

January 30, 1924

Burns

Attention two stop telegram received stop Claude Mackay last reported October twenty three as being in Russia stop Sent letter to woman here saying he was to visit France for a few weeks and never expected to return United States stop last reported here April twenty two

Brennan

Received - 12:35

To Director 12:45

61-3497-13

Department of Justice.

TELEGRAM RECEIVED.

7-1064

Chicago, Ill.

January 30, 1924.

Burns,

Dept. of Justice,

Washington, D.C.

Two stop Telegram received January twenty ninth re Claude MacKay. (Information subject not now in Chicago.) Wrote article appearing in December 1923 and January 1924 issue of the Crisis published by W.F.---rhardt Dubois is 69 Fifth Avenue, New York City. MacKay also on editorial staff of Liberator. information as to present whereabouts may be obtained from these sources.

Rooney

Did not
know where
MacKay was

61-3497

Instructions from Agent in Charge Brennan. (N. Y. File No

THIS CASE ORIGINATED AT

New York

JOURNAL TO BE MADE AT ORIGINATING OFFICE ONLY

REPORT MADE AT: New York City	DATE WHEN MADE: 1/31/24	PERIOD FOR WHICH MADE: 1/30/24	REPORT MADE BY: James E. Amos
TITLE AND CHARACTER OF CASE: IN RE: CLAUDE MCKAY (COLORED) - COMMUNIST ACTIVITIES.			
FACTS DEVELOPED: At New York:			
<p>Pursuant to instructions to make efforts to ascertain the present whereabouts of Claude McKay, the Negro communist representative, I this day learned from a confidential source that McKay was, up to two weeks ago, in Paris, France, and that he had mailed a letter from that city to a woman in New York seeking financial assistance. This information was later verified from another source and it is quite apparent that McKay is not in the United States. It is interesting to note that some time ago Agent Titus, formerly attached to this office, was advised that McKay had written a letter to a woman here in which he stated that he never intended to return to the United States.</p>			

61-3497

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61-3497-74

COPY/RL.

Poste Restante,
Toulon, Var
France.

Feb 22, 1924.

Dear Charlie,

Didn't think you'd ever talk to me again after the moroseness of my later Berlin days and my dashing off without a friendly farewell. But I was in an awful mood, unwell as you know and quite unhappy. I could not be pleasant to anyone.

Of course, I wanted to hear from you after I got to Paris but I knew everything was upset and didn't know where to write. Didn't know you were deported, either, or that the R.I.L.U. had special headquarters in Berlin. I thought it was in Hamburg. Who is Stoler? I saw a letter Clark sent to that dead weight Petroff saying you were in England and coming to Paris - that was the only information I had of you.

I was in hospital when Clark passed through on his way to America. I was curing my sores that had covered my whole body and my face and I also had a vicious attack of venereal disease. But to the astonishment of the doctors I recovered within a month. My ankle was swollen and I was limping in my left foot. They thought that foot would be in a bad shape for a long time, but I pulled through O.K.

and

and not am quite safe and sound but for some curing black scabies marks on my brown belly. But immediately I got out of hospital I was laid low with pneumonia around Christmas. I had very little strength stored up to fight it and so I was in a bad shape and was without money. But Pierre was very good to me. The sickness left me with a cough and Louise Bryant came along and sent me here to cure it and write for a couple of months. I love it and want to stay until summer. I am writing a narrative of my American experiences and am already on the 5th chapter. Enjoy it more than anything I've ever done. Wonderful material to work in. My only drawback is my not having a typewriter.

Am moving from La Ciotat to Toulon on Monday. It has grown cold here and for a week I haven't worked and the little houses have no heating facilities. I have a couple of friends in Toulon who have found a warm room for me. You would find Toulon very interesting now. I am rather interested in the French they have more nervous excitability and imagination than the Germans. But I couldn't love them. The lower classes spit too much and are too practically mercenary. I visit Marseilles once a week. Nasty place, don't like it at all. Paris was interesting. Everything is in a sort of dead water now it seems. Are you going to the next Congress?

3.
1 You might send me some current literature
and if you see Walter Muller (?) tell him he didn't fool
me much about anything except by not returning my ms.
I could have sold something out of it to "Humanite" when
I was sick.

(Sgd)

Claude.

The two principal negro delegates were J. Billings, chief of the delegation, and Claude Mackay, his assistant. I do not know their ages, but I am enclosing herewith reproductions of two photographs, one taken from the New York Times of December 31, 1922, showing Claude Mackay and Max Eastman, and the other from the February number of Current History, in which both Mackay and Billings appear. An American who recently arrived here from Moscow saw Mackay there and describes him as being a typical black American negro. It is stated that he is a poet and writer. From the photograph of Billings, it would appear that he is of the mulatto type. I have been unable to obtain the full names of the other two negro delegates, Johnston and Sayesh (or Sascha), nor can I give you a description of them.

It is very doubtful if any of the delegates had American passports. Numerous American citizens have recently proceeded to Soviet Russia without passports, having only certificates issued by Bolshevik agencies in the United States, such as the "Society for Technical Aid to Soviet Russia" and "Kuzbas".

Billings, Sayesh and Johnston will return to the United States via Chita and Shanghai. They expect to leave Moscow between December 8 and 12. Mackay will remain in Russia as President of the Negro Section of the Executive Committee of the Third International.

LONDON, March 11. 1934.

Dear Norman;

Our friends here have sent me a copy of a letter recently sent to a Communist here by Claude McKay, the notorious negro revolutionary, and I am sending it on to you without delay.

Yours ever,

BOYLSTON A. BEAL.

Norman Armour, Esq.,

& Co., & Co., & Co.,

Department of State,

Washington.

Enclosure.

To Charlie from Claude
dated Feb. 20. 1934.

SEPT. 29, 1935.

AFRICAN BLOOD BROTHERHOOD

The African Blood Brotherhood has not been active during the week as a scheduled meeting had to be called off because of the illness of Grace Campbell, one of the prime movers in the organization.

Cyril Briggs is still busy in an endeavor to put into operation his co-operative store scheme, but appears to lack sufficient money to start it. Briggs is still getting out the "Crusader Service" and the issue marked for release on September 24th states that Claude McKay, the negro poet and radical, is at present in Germany for the Crusader Service and that he will write his impressions and lecture on his return to this country.

In the issue above referred to, Briggs quotes a letter purporting to have been written by Leon Trotsky to McKay on the negro question. The letter in part reads as follows:

JOSEPH C. TUSNET

SPECIAL REPORT

SEPT. 29, 1936.

"The colored workers themselves must offer resistance against being so employed. Their eyes must be opened so that they realize when they help French imperialism to subjugate Europe they are helping to subjugate themselves, in that they are supporting the domination of French in the African and other colonies. *****"

"In North America the matter is further complicated by the abominable obtuseness and caste resumption of the privileged upper strata of the working class itself, who refuse to recognize their fellow workers and fighting comrades in the negroes. Gompers' policy is founded on the exploitation of such despicable prejudices and is at the present time the most effective guarantee for the successful subjugation of white and colored workers alike. The fight against this policy must be taken up from different sides, and conducted on various lines. One of the most important branches of this conflict consists in enlightening the proletarian consciousness by awakening the feeling of human dignity, and of revolutionary protest, amongst the black slaves of American capital. As stated above, this work can only be carried out by self-sacrificing and politically educated revolutionary negroes.

"What forms of organization are most suitable for the movement among the American negroes, it is difficult for me to say, as I am insufficiently informed regarding the concrete conditions and possibilities. But the forms of organization will be found, as soon as there is sufficient will to action.

"With communist greetings,

L. TROTSKY."

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Mr Harold Nathan
Federal Bureau of Investigation
U S Dept of Justice Bldg
Washington D C

Dear Sir:

I thought it might be of interest to you to know that I have some papers concerning a Claude Mc Kay, a colored Communist. These papers were found in the back of a drawer of some filing cabinets we purchased that were formerly used in the Post Office Building in this city.

Would you prefer that I mail these papers to you, or bring them over in person? I expect to be in Washington the latter part of the week.

Trusting to be of some service to you, I am

Very truly yours,

61-3497

JFP:GAJ

May 11, 1940

Dear

With further reference to your letter of May 1, 1940, addressed to Mr. Harold Nathan of this Bureau, please be advised that I am transmitting a copy thereof to Mr. E. A. Soucy, Special Agent in Charge, Federal Bureau of Investigation, U. S. Department of Justice, 600 Court Square Building, Baltimore, Maryland.

It would be very much appreciated if you would furnish the papers referred to in your letter to Mr. Soucy at the above address.

I am indeed grateful for your courtesy and cooperation in making this material available to this Bureau.

Very truly yours,

John Edgar Hoover
Director

61-3497

Federal Bureau of Investigation
United States Department of Justice
Baltimore, Maryland
May 31, 1940

Director,
Federal Bureau of Investigation,
Washington, D. C.

Dear Sir:

Reference is made to Bureau letter dated May 11, 1940, addressed to Baltimore, Maryland, referring to his letter dated May 1, 1940, addressed to MR. HAROLD NATHAN, which letter refers to papers concerning CLAUDE MCKAY, a colored communist.

called at this office and personally furnished to me letters dated March 12 and 26, 1923, addressed to MR. C. D. MCKEAN, over the signature of the then Director of the Bureau of Investigation, W. J. BURNS, together with a copy of the report of the then Special Agent HAROLD NATHAN, dated at Baltimore, Maryland, March 23, 1923. These letters and report are transmitted herewith.

Very truly yours,


E. A. SOUCY
Special Agent in Charge

EAS:ww

Enclosures 3

61-3497